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NARRATIVE

OF THE

ARREST, TRIAL, & CONDEMNATION

OF

COLONEL TÜRR.

SHOWING

HOW AUSTRIA RESPECTS INTERNATIONAL LAW.

BY
ISTVÁN
COLONEL TÜRR.

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NARRATIVE

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ARREST, TRIAL, & CONDEMNATION

OF

COLONEL TÜRR.

ALTHOUGH repeatedly urged by many to give publicity to the particulars of the manifest violation of international law by the Austrian military authorities, in arresting me in the neutral territory of Wallachia whilst I was engaged in the performance of duties intrusted to me by a friendly power, I hesitated for a long time, and was even reluctant to do so, because, being from my early youth a soldier, and consequently much more competent to wield the sword than the pen, I felt diffident of my ability to do full justice to the subject. But as this event has for some time occupied the whole public press of Europe, awakening everywhere the liveliest interest; and as some of the statements were either garbled or erroneous, inasmuch as they were, in a great measure, founded upon the rather suspicious information derived from the dark recesses of the Austrian Holy Inquisition, the desire of rectifying these inaccuracies, and supplying the public with a fair statement of the whole affair, and adding thus one instance more to the already too numerous records of Austrian tyranny and entire disregard of any law, human or divine, overcame my diffidence, and induced me to offer to the public the following unadorned narrative of facts, in the hope that the interest which the case itself inspires might so rivet the attention of the reader that the deficiencies of its style and diction would pass unnoticed.

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I will now begin my narrative by indicating the pretext under which the Austrians perpetrated, and by which they seek to justify, their nefarious deed. But in order that the reader may be able to appreciate justly this circumstance, as well as my subsequent actions, I must premise that, being an Hungarian, and at the time when my recital begins, in Italy, with the regiment in which I held a commission, I fought reluctantly the Italians, for I considered their cause to be just and sacred. But this reluctance turned into positive horror at the hardly conceivable barbarity with which these poor oppressed people were treated,* and in which I was absolutely compelled to participate in some measure; for the least show of leniency marked the man who

* Without entering into the enumeration of the manifold deeds of cruelty perpetrated almost daily by the Austrians upon the Italian people during the war of oppression, I will merely, for the purpose of impressing the reader with its fearful extent, mention two instances of it, by no means the most atrocious, which reawakened in me the feelings of humanity, almost half-stifled by the severity of our military discipline. At Monza, where we were stationed, the commander of the place issued an order to arrest every one, without distinction, who might be met in the streets after nine o'clock in the evening. The number of artisans and working people thus taken was enormous. Physicians even durst not issue forth after that hour out of their dwellings, to attend upon their most dangerously sick patients, for no excuse whatever was allowed. After keeping them in prison through the night, they were discharged the next morning, after receiving each of them, no matter whether young or old, healthy or infirm, the bastinado (awarded to them according to the whim and fancy of the commander), of twenty-five, fifty, and some even of as many as a hundred blows of the corporal's cane. The very royal palace of that town, where twelve months before we used to be upon guard, was turned into a place of torture and slaughter, into a dungeon, and the seat of a merciless inquisitorial tribunal. Close to it lived a farmer, who, upon the mere accusation of having a case of arms concealed in his house, was shot, together with his eldest son, before his very door; and they did not scruple to add yet to that iniquitous sentence the barbarous cruelty of compelling his wife and remaining children to witness the execution. An incessant war was waged with a fiendish fury against the most sacred feelings, and outrages were committed from which even Pizarro, Alba, or Tilly, would have shuddered. Deeply wounded in feeling, I witnessed these atrocities with intense aversion, and I was overcome by grief and shame whenever I looked upon my coat, the badge of disgrace and ignominy, which forced me to be a tool of these fiends, and an involuntary participator in their hideous crimes.

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dared to practise it as disobedient and disaffected, upon whom his superiors did not fail to hurl down, sooner or later, the whole weight of their displeasure and wrath. When to these causes of discontent and aversion the reader adds the vague rumours which at that very time were whispered about, that Hungary, my beloved country, had risen against the despotic rule of the Hapsburgs; that the Hungarian soldiers were summoned to return by the government unanimously acknowledged by the nation, nay, lawfully appointed by the legitimate King of Hungary, Ferdinand V.; that that government, finding the country treacherously invaded and devastated with sword and fire by the perjured Jesuitical dynasty, had constituted themselves into a committee for the defence of the country, and had invited the Hungarians, each and all, to hasten to the defence of their homes; that in every case where this was impracticable they absolved every Hungarian from his allegiance to the perjured house of Hapsburg, enjoining every one of them to turn their weapons against the common oppressor of Hungary and Italy;—when the reader shall have connected together all these circumstances, he may easily conceive my uneasiness and anxiety, my dejection, my longings and hopes of that moment.

Whilst my mind was thus painfully agitated, it happened that, on the 18th of January, 1849, I was on duty as officer in command of an Austrian outpost at the bridge of Buffalora, over the river Ticino, whilst on the opposite side of the river a Piedmontese outpost was stationed. A truce having been just then concluded, officers of both contending armies, as is customary on such occasions, used to meet on the bridge for a friendly chat. As soon as the Piedmontese perceived that I was an Hungarian, they hastened to supply me with an abundance of printed proclamations addressed to the Hungarian soldiers in their native tongue, with which the Hungarian *chargé-d'affaires* at the court of Turin, Baron Louis Splényi, had provided them, for the purpose of smuggling them over at a favourable opportunity. These proclamations, by confirming what, until then, I only knew as a vague rumour, imposed upon me, to my great relief and joy, the

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duty of leaving, as soon as practicable, the abhorred ranks of our oppressor. Though urged by the Piedmontese officers to take advantage of the opportunity and go over to them immediately, I did not yield to their entreaties, for I did not wish to desert the post intrusted to me, and probably thereby place in an awkward position my intimate friends in the Austrian army who shared my opinions and feelings; and I was moreover desirous of securing the consent of many more, and of devising the best and safest plan for their following my own example. I nevertheless promised the Piedmontese officers, who received me with the kindness of true friends and comrades, that I would endeavour to join them on the following day.

Relieved from my post and returned to quarters, I hastened to all those whom I knew to be of my way of thinking, for the purpose of devising with them the best plan of our going over to the Piedmontese army. I read to them the proclamations which I had brought with me, and endeavoured, as far as it lay in my power, to impress upon their minds the sacredness of the duty which our country imposed upon us. I left on the 19th of January the station by myself, and went to the outposts commanded by Lieutenant Schwarz. Having shown to the latter an order, with which I had provided myself, and by which I was directed to make a survey of the country situated between Buffalora and Magienta, with the object of placing there a division, I pretended that, for the purpose of obtaining a thoroughly good view of the locality, I indispensably required to cross the bridge, to which he consented without the least objection. Arrived at Trecate, I wrote to Lieutenant Schwarz, requesting him to report that I, being an Hungarian, prompted by an innate feeling of duty to obey my own country's call, had left the Austrian service, in consequence of an order received from the legitimate government of Hungary. The two Piedmontese officers, whom I met the day before, being on the look-out for me, took me direct to the head-quarters of the noble and deservedly lamented Duke of Genoa, who received me in the most friendly and affable manner, and invited me to his table.

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I took care, in the mean time, to prepare everything for a safe passage for my countrymen who were inclined to come over. This was greatly facilitated, and in some measure successfully effected, by means of boats, which were for that purpose continually cruising on the Ticino. But the Austrians, perceiving that the ranks of the regiment in which I served were considerably diminishing by desertion, were wise enough to withdraw it immediately from the banks of that river. I started on the evening of the very same day (19th January) for Alessandria, and presented myself, on my arrival there, to the Commander-in-Chief of the Sardinian army, General Bava, who in a few days after, viz. the 24th of January, intrusted to me the formation of a legion of the Hungarians who were coming over, to the command of which I was appointed. The legion increased rapidly, in consequence of frequent desertions of Hungarian soldiers from the Austrian ranks. A present of an Hungarian tricoloured flag was made to us, and these colours were publicly consecrated at Alessandria, on Campo Marengo, amidst the most enthusiastic cheers and applause of the people.

Elated by such a favourable beginning, we gave ourselves up to the blissful dreams and fancies of future success; we hoped that our longings to rejoin the armies of Hungary would soon be realized; we fancied that Hungary and Italy, united by their love of freedom into an indissoluble bond of brotherhood, would fight side by side against their common foe, and conquer their independence and freedom; when the lamentable disaster of Novara, immediately followed by a truce, the precursor of a fatal treaty of peace, blighted, like a venomous breath, our fondest hopes and expectations.

The second article of the above-mentioned truce stipulated that the division of Lombards, as well as the Polish and Hungarian legions, were to be disbanded; that a free pardon was granted and secured by Austria to all the non-commissioned officers and privates, from serjeant-major downwards; whilst the commissioned officers were at liberty to remain in the service of Piedmont in the respective ranks they then possessed. I

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ordered the call of my legion, and read to them the above-mentioned article in the presence of the Sardinian general Olivieri, ordering every one who might be inclined to avail himself of the pardon granted, to stand forth; but none came forward. This I fully expected beforehand, for I knew that their intense hatred of our oppressor would stifle in them their yearnings after home. I therefore turned to the general, and declared to him, in the name of the legion, that, being prevented from assisting the cause of oppressed Lombardy, we considered ourselves free and independent Hungarians, determined to do our utmost to reach our beloved country; but that, in the event of our being unsuccessful in our efforts in this respect, we were ready and willing to devote ourselves, wherever it might be, to the sacred cause of freedom.

With the intention of reaching Rome, we marched to Savona; but we were foiled in our attempt by the French expedition; we therefore turned towards Nizza, where, however, we were compelled to deliver our arms. Here we received from the French government permission to enter the French territory, limited, however, by the express condition of marching in detachments of not more than twenty-five men upon Toulon, our rendezvous and final destination, which, of course, we were compelled to accept. I left the legion for a short time at Toulon, and went to Paris, where I expected to be able to induce the French government, through the medium of the Hungarian ambassador, Count Ladislaus Teleky, to ship the legion over to Turkey. But perceiving very soon that there was no chance of success, and being, moreover, tired of the interminable delays, I hastened back to Toulon, where the commanding general had already succeeded in persuading some of the men to consent to their being sent over to Algiers, and where I had every reason to fear that the legion, without making even an attempt to regain Hungary, would dwindle away to nothing.

We were very soon after sent into the interior of the country, to Lyons, divided into three detachments, in order to avoid the

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sensation which a larger body of men might produce. We intended to get thence to England, where we thought to be probably sooner enabled to carry out our plan of embarkation for Turkey than in France.

Arrived at Lyons, which two of my columns had previously reached, we received there the gratifying news of the victorious advance of Hungarian armies upon Vienna, and of a revolution in the grand duchy of Baden, where the military were siding with the people. Fancying that that revolution would spread all over Germany, and thus afford us the readiest means of rejoining our brethren in Hungary, I immediately resolved to lead the two arrived columns of my legion direct to Baden, expecting the third, under the command of Lieutenant Balogh, to follow and join me there. This, however, was prevented by the French authorities, when the column was, like myself, crossing the frontiers of France, and, instead of their allowing the men to leave France on that point, they embarked them all for Folkstone, where they were most enthusiastically received by the high-minded Britons, most bountifully fed and equipped, and finally embarked for Turkey. They, however, arrived at Constantinople but to learn the disastrous result of our beloved country's efforts.

I arrived, in the mean time, with the other two columns of my legion quite safe at Baden, and met with a most enthusiastic reception. Besides the Hungarian legion, the command and organization of three Baden battalions was intrusted to me, and I took part in the campaign until the armies of all the states of Germany being called to crush the small army of Baden, it ended in the final dissolution of forces; and the then government of Baden, together with my Hungarian legion, were compelled to seek shelter in Switzerland. At Berne I learned the crushing news of my country's downfall, and, with a heart rent by grief and sorrow, I became aware that an implacable fate prevented us from devoting to the service of our own dear country the arms which had been employed in the defence of the rights and freedom of Germany and Italy.

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A free pardon being again offered to my men in the month of September, 1849, a part of them, tired of incessant fatigues and disappointments, and having lost all hope of ever being able to fight for their country's cause, but particularly prompted by the idea that the years of their compulsory military service would soon be over, availed themselves of it, and returned to the country sodden with their brothers' blood; whilst the remainder was sent over to America by the always-humane and noble-minded government of Switzerland.

I lived, after that, partly in Switzerland and partly in Piedmont, upon the pension which the Sardinian government had granted to me, until the month of October, 1850, the time when a party of about 100 Hungarian privates came over from Lombarby and had been kept together, and under discipline in Piedmont by my fellow-brother in arms Captain Winkler. Seeing that all chances of fighting for my country's cause were vanishing fast, it became quite indifferent to me to offer my services to any one who might require them, provided I could thus contribute my part to the protection of freedom against oppression and tyranny. I was therefore just then devising with Captain Winkler a plan for taking over this troop to Monte Video, with the view of joining in the struggle then waging against the tyrant Rosas, when we were informed at Genoa that Austria demanded, in virtue of an old obsolete cartel, the extradition of these deserters. There were no other means to save these poor fellows but by my declaring that they belonged each and all to the former Piedmontese-Hungarian legion, which I of course did, and thus obtained from the Piedmontese government permission to take them to Switzerland. Having soon after obtained from the French government, at the instance of the generous Federal Council of Switzerland, the permission of embarking them in France for America, I conducted them in person on foot to Havre, and saw them safely embarked for their destination.

My then mental anxiety, bodily exertions, and by greatly impaired health, did not allow me to accompany them, and I remained in Europe, residing alternately in Piedmont and

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Switzerland, and now and then in Paris and London, until the month of February, 1853, when the news of another revolutionary outbreak at Milan induced me to join a party of seventy Italian patriots in the attempt to penetrate into Italy, near Pavia.* The revolution in Milan having failed, I was arrested in Piedmont, and kept in prison for forty days. All the Italian patriots who took part in our unsuccessful attempt were driven out of Piedmont, whilst I and my friend Captain Winkler were both sent to Tunis, whence, however, we soon had the opportunity of reaching England.

I went as soon as the war between Russia and the two western powers broke out to Turkey, with the intention of getting, if possible, an appointment in the army of Omer Pasha, and the Sirdar was really desirous of employing me. Austrian influence, however, prevented this; and being thus deprived of every opportunity of being really useful, I left the army of the Danube. After undergoing many hardships and vicissitudes, I succeeded at last in reaching the Crimea, where I took part as a volunteer in several fights and battles, in one of which—that of the Tschernaja—I met with Captain Atkinson, with whom I had been previously acquainted, and who proposed to get me an appointment in the British Land-Transport Corps; and, through his kind exertions in my behalf, I actually obtained the power and authority from the Director-General, Colonel MacMurdo, confirmed on the 3rd of September, 1855, by the Commander-in-Chief of the British army, General Simpson, to form a driver-corps of four Juz-Baschis (captains), twelve Onbaschis (serjeants), and 200 drivers, with 100 waggons and 400 horses, and to make for it all the required purchases. To execute as speedily as possible the task intrusted to me, I immediately left the Crimea for the Danube.

Arrived on the banks of the Danube, and having entered upon the duties of my appointment, I very soon perceived, by the

* Further particulars about it will be found in my account of the examinations and trial by court-martial I underwent, after my arrest by the Austrians.

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manner in which business was transacted there, that it was best calculated to provide us for our good gold with useless waggons and with the worst of horses. My frequently repeated complaints and declarations in writing to the Wallachian agents, that I could and would not accept the goods and animals supplied, were of no avail; and to remedy the rather serious evil, my personal presence in Wallachia was indispensable. Prompted, therefore, by the desire of fulfilling conscientiously my duty, I inquired of the Austrian major Schweiger, at Giurgevo, whether it would be safe for me to come over or not; who having assured me that I had no occasion whatever to be concerned about my safety, Wallachia being neutral ground, and this being moreover confirmed by several Austrian officers to the Bavarian colonel Count Taufkirchen, who repeated it again to me, I ventured to cross over to Wallachia, and was actually allowed to return without the least molestation; so that I had no misgiving as to what was soon to befall me.

I sent off to the Crimea, on the 29th of October, a transport of waggons in an available condition, together with the required number of drivers; and having perceived in that delivery yet some deficiencies, I started again the next day for Bucharest, for the purpose of supplying and rectifying them in the next expected supply. I called at Giurgevo upon Major Schweiger, and inquired whether I could execute any commission for him in Bucharest? He thanked me very politely, wished me a pleasant journey, and we parted quite friendly. I then set out immediately, and arrived at Bucharest very late at night.

I went out early in the morning, on the 1st of November, to look at the waggons, and to have all the deficiencies remedied which I had perceived in the last supply. Having done this, I called upon the British diplomatic agent, Mr. Colquhoun; but his time being entirely taken up by Prince Ghyka, I had no opportunity of explaining to him all the particulars of my mission. He only requested me to call upon him the next day, when he expected to be more at leisure to talk to me about my affairs. Thence I went direct to the hotel "City of London," where I

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lodged, together with the Turkish major Berendey.* I went soon after with Major Berendey on business to a money-changer's, and having left the major there, I called at the Wallachian Government-palace, for the purpose of requesting the Minister Director, Crezulesco, to send always to Giurgevo by post-horses the waggons intended for the British army; by which their conveyance would be greatly accelerated. Having done my business at that place, I was returning to the money-changer's, when, on my way there, I happened to meet an Austrian officer of the name of Hauszer, who had served with me in the very regiment which I had left when going over to Piedmont, and who, as the consequences unfortunately proved, recognized me. The money being handed over to us by the money-changer, I and Major Berendey got into our vehicle and rode straight to the hotel, where, having hardly finished counting over the money, I heard a knock at my door, and immediately after two Austrian officers entered my room. One of them was the above-mentioned Hauszer, and the other entirely unknown to me. This visit neither surprised me, nor did it awaken any suspicion in me, because some Austrian officers had already paid a visit to me at Giurgevo.

Both the officers shook hands with me, and expressed themselves highly delighted to see me. I sent my servant to fetch some coffee, offered them some cigars, and we got into a friendly chat, in the course of which the strange officer told me that an acquaintance of mine, Captain Fekete, being likewise in Bucharest, and desirous of seeing me, he would go and fetch him. Left alone with Hauszer, I inquired how it was that this regiment, which I knew had only quite recently occupied Italy, happened to be now in Wallachia. To which he replied: that desertion having increased in it to a fearful extent, and the privates being altogether on too friendly terms with the Italians,

* Being particularly anxious to avoid everything which might afford to the Austrians a pretext for protesting against my presence in Bucharest, I never showed myself on the public promenade or in a theatre; I even never went into a public dining-room.

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it was considered advisable to withdraw the regiment from Italy, and thus prevent, probably, more lamentable consequences. The unknown officer returned very soon; but I perceived, instead of Captain Fekete, whom I expected, five other officers and twenty soldiers, who all crowded into my room. The unknown officer, altering his former friendly manner, advanced towards me, and, in a harsh tone, declared that I expected in vain Captain Fekete; that he who addressed me was the Austrian commander of the town, and that he had orders to arrest me, as one found upon Austrian territory. At that I turned to Major Berendey, and said, with irony, "Then you do consider Wallachia to be already Austrian territory?" Though I could not help at first being alarmed at this new instance of Austrian infamy, I nevertheless recovered in an instant my self-possession, and, turning to the commander of the town, I said: "You are very well aware that, previous to my coming here, I inquired of the Austrian commander of Giurgevo, Major Schweiger, whether I might travel unmolested in Wallachia, or not? and that, had I not received from him an affirmative answer, I certainly would never have ventured to do so." "I know that," replied the commander of the town, "as well as that you have been here before; but you know likewise, that I, as a military man, am bound to obey, and that, in consequence of orders received, I am compelled to arrest you." What was to be done? To bid defiance to such an overwhelming number of pseudo-soldiers, mere tools, devoid of individual will, would have been sheer madness. Therefore, after having handed over to Major Berendey all the official and private papers, as well as moneys, which I had in my possession, that they might be forwarded to those to whom they belonged, and after requesting him to report to the British Consul-General all the particulars of the event, in order that he might be able to adopt the necessary steps for my release,* I

* I have learned since that Mr. Colquhoun did not delay a moment in applying to the Austrian general Coronini, and that he entered a solemn protest against this unlawful proceeding.

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advanced towards the door, but looking about for my service-cap, I could not find it anywhere; for some of these sbirri, who had thus attacked me, had very likely pocketed it. Men who daily behold the most atrocious examples of murder, perjury, and rapine, committed by those above them; men, whose rulers have acquired, by craft and plunder, the greatest part of their possessions, will certainly not scruple to filch a cap. One of the Austrian officers who, burglar-like, had entered my room, offered me an Austrian military cap and mantle, both which I positively declined to accept, though they actually wanted to force them upon me. I, however, threw them off, and went uncovered into the yard, crowded with Austrian soldiery, who had stopped all the passages. I perceived here the servant of the English major Plowder, whom I requested, in English, to report to his master the scene of which he was a witness. They then forced me into a calash; two Austrian officers sat on each side of me, on the back seat, and two soldiers with loaded muskets on the front seat.

We drove with the greatest speed to the lodgings of the Staff-auditor, where a minute of what had happened was drawn up. The commander of the town apologized, by referring to the duties of his office. To that I answered very drily: "I am perfectly acquainted with the Austrian military service; but I cannot help thinking that it would have been more becoming and manly on your part, had you, in your capacity of an officer on duty, executed it without having recourse to the rather questionable way of a pretended friendly visit." After a while, General Popowich made his appearance, whom I requested to send to the Staff-auditor's either the Turkish major Berendey or else some one from the British Consulate, that I might be able to confer with them, and inform them of the arrangements I had made with regard to the horses and drivers stationed in different localities, in order that the British government might not be exposed to any loss through the untoward predicament in which I was unexpectedly placed. He promised to do so, but nobody came.

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They took me from the Auditor's lodgings into a small low prison, within which two soldiers were placed to watch me. For about an hour did I meditate upon my sad position, and its probable consequences; and being but too well acquainted with the malicious, cowardly, and at the same time most cruel ways of the Austrian government, my meditations were by no means consoling; in fact, my only hope was founded on the energy of the British, and the cowardice of the Austrian government. After that time had elapsed, the provost entered, with a rather embarrassed look, and said, "Sir, you know what my duty is." I knew what he meant. He then put manacles on my right leg and left wrist, connected together with a pretty long chain, which, however, did not inconvenience me too much. Worn out with unavailable thinking, I only then began to look about my prison, and found that the window afforded a view on the court-yard, where I perceived an old soldier, who knew me immediately, and who overwhelmed the provost with such importunate entreaties, that he became quite affected by them, and consented at last to his coming into my room. It was old Dobosz of my former grenadier company. The old true-hearted soul burst into tears on perceiving me in my melancholy position, and related to me all the sad events which had happened in the regiment after I had left it; but whenever his thoughts turned to me, his grief seemed to be so deep and intense, that I was hardly able to master my own feelings, and prevent them from getting the better of me. Thus the evening approached; poor Dobosz parted with me very painfully affected, and I was left with the provost, whom I requested to provide me with a common civilian's head-covering, that I might not be compelled to wear the hated Austrian military cap. The provost brought me one, to which I hope no one has had any objection. I then fell into a dose.

About midnight the non-commissioned officer on duty woke me, as they were going to take me away from Bucharest. I was led into the courtyard under an escort, and found there a detachment of about thirty men, drawn up in two lines, on the

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point of loading their muskets. An officer stepped forward and said, "Sir, you know the regulations. I am the commander of the escort which is to see you safe into the interior of the country." I got into the vehicle which was waiting for me, without saying a word. The officer took his seat at my side, whilst two soldiers were placed on the front seat. We were followed by a waggon crammed with soldiers, and on both sides of our vehicle rode lancers, forming our cavalry escort. Arrived at the gates of Bucharest, the Wallachian gate-keeper inquired after the name of the commanding officer, who halloed out to him harshly, "The sergeant on duty will tell you the name." I made my chains clink purposely, in order that the gate-keeper might know that they were carrying away a prisoner; but he, being probably half-asleep, did not seem to observe it, and having opened the gates, we flew through, and continued our journey at a furious rate. Fresh horses awaiting us at the intermediate stations, we reached Plojesty at five o'clock in the morning.

The commanding officer having left us here to report himself, the escort surrounded the vehicle so closely, that nothing could be seen, either from without or from within. At his return, he wanted to start immediately, but, from want of post-horses, this could not take place so soon; and there being no prison, I was locked up in a small room of the provost's, and two men of a new guard, which we received here, were placed within to watch me.

The soldiers of this guard belonged to the very regiment in which I had formerly served. They were most of them young lads of the 3rd battalion, which was stationed at Plojesty. They knew me only by name, and from what they had heard of me. These poor fellows stood round me with downcast looks and sad faces. The sergeant commanding this guard accosted me, saying: "Colonel, I am a townsman of yours. I am the son of the upholsterer Szabó. My father has worked very frequently for your family." Saying which, the honest young man wiped away a tear. "Cheer up, my lads, my countrymen," said I to them; "do not despair. 'It's a long lane that has no turning.'" I

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was thus compelled to comfort them, though myself placed in a rather comfortless situation. But, to conceal my own emotion, I turned away from them, afraid, as I was, of prompting them by it to some demonstration which might get them into trouble. Knowing full well how easily my countrymen may be excited to noble deeds, I am quite sure that, at that moment, there would have been no difficulty in gaining over the whole guard, and inducing them to some desperate act for my delivery. But, though at one moment that idea flashed across my mind, I as quickly discarded it; for it would have been a cowardly action on my part to attempt to sacrifice, for my own uncertain safety, the lives of some twenty brave young fellows, and expose to a merciless persecution as many innocent families.

It was late in the night when the post-horses arrived. The men of the guard having taken leave of me, and being relieved by my former escort, we set out again for our further journey. On the 3rd of November we arrived at the out-running ridges of the Carpathian Mountains, which constitute the boundary between Wallachia and Transylvania. I saw here the Austrians busily engaged on a very expensively laid-out road of communication, which seemed to confirm strongly the surmise that they were already considering the Danubian principalities as part and parcel of their dominions. About two o'clock in the afternoon we reached the actual boundary-line of Wallachia and Transylvania. The inspector of that line demanded the name of the officer as well as his authority, which, being handed over to him, he took into his office. At that a glimmer of hope, the possibility of my relief, crossed my mind; and really, had the Wallachian Hospodar, Prince Stirbey, been possessed of the least spark of energy and humane feeling, he had an incontestable right, and might have prevented my being carried away, and my arrest on neutral ground. But what could one expect from a man who was himself the most servile follower of Austria! The written authority was returned to the commander of the escort, and we were in a few moments after on Hungarian territory. Oh! in what a different condition did I confidently hope to see

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again my home, my own dearly beloved country! Not fettered with irons, indeed, but with a steel sword in my grasp, driving away from her hallowed expanse her ruthless unrelenting spoiler! Where I once imagined to be able to descry floating in the bracing mountain air the red, white, and green tricolour, I beheld unfurled the true Austrian emblem, the accursed black and yellow flag! Yes, envy and night do indeed faithfully characterize the unalterable covert malice of the imperial house of Hapsburg. Absorbed in these gloomy thoughts, I hardly perceived that we were approaching, about five o'clock in the evening, the principal town of Transylvania, Cronstadt. This town, called in the Hungarian language Brassò, is, with regard to commerce, the most important, as well as the most populous, of that country.

Arrived at Cronstadt, they placed me in the prison known there under the name of "Stockhaus," a dungeon which was occupied by several prisoners, who were, however, all removed somewhere else on my arrival. This dungeon remained my abode during the whole duration of my detention: it was a small square dirty hole, with an opening for a window. The furniture of this dungeon consisted of a frame of soft wood for a bedstead, with a paillasse upon it, a table, a wooden form, and a wooden pitcher. Two soldiers within my room were likewise kept here to watch me, though the space was so small that one could not make four steps across it. My first visitor here, as everywhere else, was the provost, who inquired of me whether I had a knife or any sharp instrument in my possession. He then counted the money (twenty-two ducats) I had about me, and withdrew.

On the 4th came the general commanding at Cronstadt, and I requested him to allow me to write to the English diplomatic agent at Bucharest. He promised to send me a writer, who would write the letter from my dictation, but he never came.

They would not allow me either books or newspapers, probably to torture me with sheer weariness; for during fifteen long days I saw no one else than the watch, the provost, and the inspecting officer on duty. They even prevented my sleeping; for the

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watch keeping their muskets within the room, every relief, which took place every two hours, woke me.

On the 19th of November, at nine o'clock in the morning, the provost came and took off my chains, saying, that a colonel wanted to speak to me; and under the escort of two soldiers I was ushered into the principal hall of the barracks, where I perceived not only the colonel but a regular examination-board, called by the Austrians "Verhör Assessorium," in due order assembled. Most of my readers may not know of whom an Austrian military examination-board is composed. It consists of the Auditor, of a field officer as president, a captain, a lieutenant, a sergeant-major, a corporal, a lance-corporal, and a private. The President and the Auditor occupy the head of the table, whilst on two sides of it the members of the board are seated. The accused must defend himself, no counsel being ever allowed to plead for him; and with the exception of the accused and the persons constituting the board, no one else is admitted into the room; so that the proceedings can never have the benefit of being published by the press.

The Auditor opened the proceedings by saying: "Lieutenant, we are directed and empowered by the superior military presidial authority to renew the action brought against you; for you are no doubt aware, that in consequence of your non-appearance, you were outlawed, and sentenced to death in effigy." Saying which, he pointed to a paper lying on the table, on the top of which the word "sentence" was written in large characters.

I answered: "I know that I have been sentenced to death; I nevertheless consider my present arrest to be contrary to law; because it was not until after having made proper inquiries, and received thereupon from the commander at Giurgevo, Major Schweiger, a positive assurance that, Wallachia being a neutral territory, my personal safety could not be in any way endangered by my presence there; because it was not until then that I, engaged in British service, and relying upon the word of a superior officer, went to Bucharest, not for the sake of pleasure

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or bravado, but merely and solely in the exercise of my duties in the service of a power connected with Austria by friendly relations, and actually returned thence unmolested, three weeks before my unlawful arrest. Because, had not the above-mentioned commander given me that positive assurance, before ever putting my foot upon that, as it now appears, dangerous soil, I would have previously applied to the British consul-general at Bucharest, and have requested him to obtain from the Austrian commander-in-chief in Wallachia, General Coronini, the necessary information, which would have at all events saved the Austrian officers the contumely of pouncing upon me, under the pretence of a friendly visit."

The Auditor. "Believe me, sir, that Major Schweiger does not deserve any blame; for you were arrested in consequence of orders emanating from higher authorities; and I must at the same time inform you, that diplomatic communications concerning you have actually taken place between the Austrian and British governments; but the latter, having been made aware that you not only deserted the Austrian army, but have ever since been the most active and zealous promoter of everything tending to the separation of Hungary and Italy from the Austrian monarchy, have been induced to leave the decision of your case to the justice of Austria. Please to be seated."

At that the whole Board took their seats in the same order as they stood, and the regular preliminary examination with regard to my birth-place, my age, religion, &c., as well as with regard to the place and the way in which I had left the Austrian, and how I took service in the Piedmontese army, was carried on for above three hours, when I was ordered to be taken back to my prison, the Auditor stating merely, in addition, that as there were still 3,000 florins of my property remaining in the chest of the regiment, as a deposit from a former period, I was allowed to board myself at my own expense; for had that not been the case, they could not have allowed me anything else than the usual prisoner's fare. They likewise took from me the fifteen ducats which I had yet remaining about me, and as I had no other

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clothing than what I had on, they bought for me a few shirts, the Auditor promising to send for my wardrobe, which I had left behind at Bucharest, Giurgevo, and Rustschuk.

The 19th of November was the anniversary of my poor dear mother's death; and on that very day began the proceedings which were to decide my fate,—either life or an ignominious death! And yet no ignominious death either; for dear, beloved mother, it was no curse-deserving crime* which brought thy son into this sad dilemma, but the sacred feelings of patriotism and love of mankind, which thou hadst instilled into his youthful heart, that bade him, an Hungarian, and prompt him still, to remain true and faithful to his country,—to the principles of justice and humanity. Musing thus over this mournful coincidence, I could not help exclaiming inwardly: "Is it possible that the British government, whom I was at that time serving, can have so heartlessly forsaken me, when no imprudence, no frivolous motive on my part, but mere zeal and anxiety to fulfil conscientiously the duty intrusted to me, and the, perhaps, too confident reliance upon the word of officers, of men of honour, have brought me within the clutches of my implacable foe? For I cannot admit that, were it from no other source, the British consul-general at Bucharest, and, through him, the British government, should not have had every requisite information respecting this case, from the Bavarian colonel Count Taufkirchen."

The rigour of my prison life was after that day so far lessened that they allowed me to read novels, with which the provost supplied me; and being some time after not quite well, at the recommendation of the surgeon of the regiment, who perceived it, and who advised fresh air and exercise, I was allowed daily to

* Since my liberation I have learnt that several German newspapers, in order to secure to themselves the good graces of the Austrian government, have not scrupled to circulate about me most infamous calumnies. In refutation of which I refer to the *Military Gazette* of Vienna, which surely cannot be suspected of any partiality towards me; which, in an article inserted in its 120th number, of Wednesday, November the 18th, 1855, plainly states "that with the exception of my having left the Austrian army, no other blame or accusation whatever can be justly brought against me."

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breathe the fresh air for ten minutes, notwithstanding that the surgeon had insisted upon my having this indulgence twice a day, viz. in the morning and in the afternoon. During these walks no one was allowed to come near me.

At my next examination, all the particulars of my going over to the Piedmontese were closely investigated; but I do not think it necessary to repeat them here, since they are already stated at the beginning of my narrative. When all the questions bearing upon this circumstance were exhausted, the examination was continued as follows:—

The Auditor. "You are accused of having written proclamations to the imperial Austrian troops."—*I.* "I have never written any."

Auditor. "The deserters were maintained at Lugano by you and Winkler in the year 1850. Whence did you obtain the necessary funds for the maintenance of so considerable a number of deserters?"—*I.* "The respective committees, as well as the sympathizing Swiss patriots, supplied the necessary funds."

Auditor. "Who informed you that there were deserters at Lugano?"—*I.* "Our friends in Switzerland. And for the purpose of preventing our countrymen from dispersing, Winkler undertook to keep them together and in proper order."

Auditor. "But these deserters appeared some time after at Genoa?"—*I.* "Yes. Because, as it could not be expected that they could be maintained in Switzerland for ever, I resolved to conduct and ship them over to Monte Video."

Auditor. "Did you declare, at the time when Austria claimed these deserters, that they all belonged to your former legion?"—*I.* "Yes, I did, for the purpose of affording to Piedmont a motive for refusing their extradition."

Auditor. "You then led them again into Switzerland, and then to America?"—*I.* "Yes."

Auditor. "Why did you do that?"—*I.* "Because I am an Hungarian, and moreover out of considerations of humanity."*

* I perceived here that the Auditor laid a great stress upon the word

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Auditor. "After seeing the men safe on board at Havre, where did you go then?"—*I.* "I went to London, for the purpose of requesting the Hungarian committee established there to write to their correspondent at New York to take care of my countrymen, and to place them as advantageously as it was possible. Having accomplished my object, I returned to Switzerland."

Auditor. "You sent at that time proclamations to the Hungarian troops?"—*I.* "Yes, I sent one, entreating them not to desert."

Auditor. "You entreat the Hungarian troops to persevere until some outbreak takes place, but to remain in the mean time on good terms with the Italians. Here is the proclamation. Do you know it?"—*I.* "Yes, I do know it. It was drawn up at my request by the Hungarian committee in London."

Auditor. "Why do you entreat your countrymen to be on good terms with the Italians?"—*I.* "Because they are our allies."

Auditor. "When Governor Kossuth* came to London, did you go to him?"—*I.* "Yes, I did."

Auditor. "About what did you talk with him, and what mission did Kossuth intrust to you?"—*I.* "Kossuth was so overwhelmed with affairs, that I talked with him but very little. He gave me no mission, but merely asked me where I usually resided. I told him at Turin. He advised me to return there again, and said that if, at some future time, he should require me, he would send me the necessary instructions."

Auditor. "But you know Calvi?"†—*I.* "Yes, I do."

Auditor. "In what connection did you stand with him?"—*I.* "In a friendly connection."

"humanity," and entered it into the minute in large bold characters. Humanity is in Austria a heinous capital crime,—it is, at all events, considered as an aggravating circumstance.

* Was it for the purpose of putting me in better humour that the Auditor made use of this title?

† Calvi had been formerly lieutenant in the Austrian service, but has, since then, been fighting for his own country, Italy, and was appointed colonel by the Venetian provisional government. He was one of the most valiant, as well as most devoted, supporters of the Italian cause.

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Auditor. "Surely you will not think of denying that you were military agent for Italy? Do you know these letters?"—[I perceived now, from a rather bulky parcel of carefully-arranged and stitched papers, that all Calvi's original correspondence with Mazzini, Kossuth, and others had fallen into the hands of the Austrians. The Auditor began now to read to me the depositions of Calvi, who, far from expecting that I ever should fall into the hands of the Austrians, and for the purpose of avoiding as much as possible everything which might inculpate him, laid everything to my charge; as, for instance, that I knew all the officers in the Austrian army with whom the revolutionary party stood in correspondence; that all agents sent into Italy came to me, and so forth.]—*I.* "It is very natural that a person placed in so perilous a situation as Calvi was when he made these depositions, should try to lay the charge upon the shoulders of him whom he does not expect of being so circumstanced as that these charges could ever be brought home to him; and on that account I do not think that such statements could be taken for a fair and reliable basis for the investigation of truth, much less constitute justly any damnatory proofs."

Auditor. "According to Calvi's statement, he, and all the revolutionary chiefs of districts, have supplied you with their plans applicable to each respective district, from which you have drawn up a general plan for the uprising of Lombardy and Venice. What was that plan, and who were the chiefs of the districts?"—*I.* "I do not remember of ever having drawn up such a plan. Calvi has certainly communicated to me in writing his views with regard to field operations in some part of Italy; but I have made no plan, and do not know any district or provincial chiefs. After all, since Calvi is dead, from reasons which I have stated before, this investigation can lead to no fair and satisfactory result."

Auditor. "How do you know that Calvi is dead?"—*I.* "I read it in the papers that he was executed at Mantua."

Auditor. "Barozzi, a clergyman, who is likewise imprisoned at Mantua, states that you are in correspondence with Austrian

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military men. Who are they?"—*I.* "I deny it; I am not in correspondence with any such men."

Auditor. "But the agents came certainly to you. Do you not know a certain Stern, who came as far as Venice?"—*I.* "Stern came to me, that is true; he had his instructions from London, but I do not know their purport. I knew that he was at Venice, for I saw the visas of the Austrian police of all the places mentioned in his passport."

Auditor. "Where did Stern live?"—*I.* "That I do not know."

Auditor. "You knew Mazzini?"—*I.* "Yes, I did."

Auditor. "What do you know of his connections?"—*I.* "Nothing at all."

Auditor. "You were in connection with Count Grilenzoni, as well as with Calvi. Did they not bring to you letters from Mazzini?"—*I.* "Yes, they did; but I do not know their contents."

Auditor. "According to Kossuth's own original letters, you were directed to bring about a military conspiracy; in what manner was that to have been accomplished?"—*I.* "I had no special instruction for that purpose; and this was only intended for the event of a general uprising."

Auditor. "You know Füzesy? But in order to bring him to your remembrance, I will tell you that he was a school-fellow of yours; then an officer of the Honved's; but after the termination of the Hungarian insurrection, thrust into the ranks as a private, out of which, however, he very soon rose to the rank of a non-commissioned officer; but having had at Bologna, under his charge, two Italians arrested for political crimes, he deserted, together with his charge and five Hungarian soldiers, who constituted the watch, to Genoa."—*I.* "I recollect this circumstance, for he wrote to me from Switzerland, requesting me to try to secure for him and his soldiers some means of subsistence."

Auditor. "You wrote to him in the end of February, 1853, to go to Lucarno when he was called to do so."—*I.* "Yes, I did write to him to that effect."

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Auditor. "To whom was he directed to go?"—*I.* "I do not know that."

Auditor. "It is a pity that you decline telling that, for Füzesy is likewise in prison at Mantua."

[The Auditor began here to read the depositions of Füzesy, in which he states, that, in the end of January, 1853, I inquired of him, by letter, whether he would be inclined or not to go to Lombardy on a confidential mission; that, having consented to do that, and having received at Lugano a letter addressed to Count Grilenzoni, Füzesy came with it to Turin and delivered it to that gentleman; that Grilenzoni brought him to me, where he stopped during the night; that, having accompanied him next day very early in the morning to the railway-station, I gave him a letter addressed to Winkler, at Broni, where he arrived in the evening of the same day; that, at night, Winkler took him to the river Po, where he intrusted him to the care of a smuggler, who brought him across the river, on the other side of which a vehicle was waiting for him; that, after a journey of about two hours' duration, another vehicle made its appearance at a signal of the coachman's, made by whistling, into which Füzesy jumped, and which conveyed him to Milan.]

Auditor. "Your organization and your ways appear really so extraordinary, that they partake very much of the character of the fabulous tales of the Arabian Nights. Do give me some explanation of them; you must, indeed, initiate me into some of these mysteries."—*I.* "How can you expect me to know anything about it, when the man who performed the journey was not able to supply you with a satisfactory explanation? For my part, I know nothing else about the matter than this: that I accompanied Füzesy to the railway, and that some time after he wrote to me from Switzerland, that he succeeded, as early as the 6th of February, in escaping safely from Milan; I do not know, even, how he ever got again to Mantua."

Auditor. "And how do you manage the forwarding of letters?"—[Then turning to the members of the Board, he said]:—"It is really surprising to what ingenious contrivances

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these gentlemen have recourse to accomplish their object. We received, for instance, information that an indicated person was the bearer of important dispatches. He underwent the most rigorous search; all the articles of his clothing were ripped to pieces, his head and foot-gear underwent the same process, but no dispatch was found; and it was only some time after ascertained that the dispatch was concealed in small bits in the buttons. At another time, again, we were informed that proclamations had been sent in a waggon. The waggon was thoroughly searched, but without success; and where do you think, gentlemen, they were at last found? In the axletree; so that we were obliged to break the waggon before we could find the proclamations.——Now, do tell me what ever suggests to you such odd, out-of-the-way ideas?"—*I.* "The post affording no security for the secrecy of private correspondence, people are driven to all sorts of expedients to supply the deficiency, and to invent new ones when those which were made use of are discovered."

Auditor. "You did not take part in that conspiracy in consequence of which Füzesy came to Brescia and was arrested there. But you must give me some information about that Winkler, for there is scarcely one accusation, one action against political offenders brought forward, without finding the two names of Türr and Winkler, or Winkler and Türr, mentioned in it?"—*I.* "Winkler is my best and most intimate friend, and, like a true patriot, always ready and willing to act and fight for his country; but, notwithstanding all that, I am unacquainted with his particular connections."

Auditor. "On the 6th of February, 1853, you were near Stradella, for the purpose of surprising Pavia, with a column of men all armed. How was all that arranged, and where did you get the arms from? for you were the man who planned with Sacchi the crossing of the Po."—*I.* "I arrived in the evening of the 5th of February at Stradella, and found there assembled in various spots from seventy to about eighty patriots. It is true, that on the very same night each of us provided ourselves with

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arms. We marched then through the woods towards Pavia. Arrived near that town, an emissary, whose name I do not know, met us with the information that the town, being occupied by two battalions of infantry and two troops of cavalry, declined to rise, and gave us the advice to give up the attempt. Foiled in our plan, and knowing at the same time, that a revolution was to break out at Milan on the very same day (6th February), we resolved to cross the Po and march straight upon Milan. Sacchi and Winkler endeavoured to increase our number by all the inhabitants of the Piedmontese places who were inclined to take a part in the expedition, whilst I went in the mean time to find a convenient place for our crossing the river. I took, during the night of the 6th and the 7th of February, a boat, and went on the little island Costa Corliniana, situated between Lombardy and Piedmont, where twelve patriots were taking care of a depôt of arms, for the purpose of having these arms conveyed to an appointed spot; when, instead of these patriots, I found on landing a picket of Piedmontese gendarmes, who made me prisoner. I made a preconcerted signal for the boat to return and inform Winkler and Sacchi that I wanted their assistance, thinking that they would be able to deliver me. But a Piedmontese police commissaire came and told me that all was over; that they received information of the failure of the attempt at Milan, and that it was fortunate that I and my friends had not yet crossed the Po. He likewise told me that my friends must know by this time how matters stood, and must have dispersed; for the Piedmontese cavalry had received an order to advance to the very frontier. I was then taken to Turin, underwent an examination, but I knew nothing about the plan of this expedition; they kept me in prison for forty days, and sent me over to Tunis. Winkler, who succeeded in escaping to Switzerland, hearing that I was arrested, came to Turin, surrendered, and was sent over with me to Tunis."

Auditor. "But where did you get the arms from? and state the names of the rebels."—*I.* "I do not know where the arms came from, nor am I acquainted with the names of the patriots;

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for most of them were entirely unknown to me, except Winkler and Sacchi, and about two or three others, whose names I do not recollect at this moment."

Auditor. "Some time after, you went to Turkey with General Klapka. Do you know his connections?"—*I.* "No, I do not."

Auditor. "I hardly can admit that. Being always with him, you must have known that he was well received by Lord Stratford."—*I.* "I only know that Mehemed Ali Pasha was desirous of appointing General Klapka Commander-in-Chief in Asia; but being, on the very night he intended to do so, deprived of his post of minister of war, the appointment did not take place."

Auditor. "You know, of course, General Kmety, who fights so gallantly the battles of the Turks?"—*I.* "Yes, I do know him."

Auditor. "I really cannot conceive how Kmety, and all the Hungarians in general, can serve these barbarians, the Turks, who have so cruelly enslaved your ancestors."—*I.* "Circumstances are entirely changed since then. The Turks have hospitably received us, and treat us always with almost brotherly affection."

Auditor. "That may be; but I cannot help thinking that you Hungarians stand very much in your own light. You, for instance, had you remained with us, would have risen to the rank of a major by this time."—"*I.* "Very likely; but ever since my country claimed my services, I never thought of promotion, but only of the means and opportunities of fulfilling most efficiently what I considered to be my sacred duty. Had promotion been my object, I might have remained in the Piedmontese service after the battle of Novara; and yet, out of a mere sense of duty, I preferred devoting my services to the cause of justice and freedom, though by so doing I exposed myself to imminent dangers, with but very uncertain prospects, if any, of personal benefits."

Auditor. "Did you go to the head-quarters of Omer Pasha?" —*I.* "Yes, I did."

Auditor. "Has he many adherents in the army, as well as in

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European Turkey?"—*I.* "He is the most influential general in the army, and is highly respected in the country."

Auditor. "Did he say anything to you about his antecedents?"—*I.* "Your question reminds me of the circumstance that he, too, has been at Bucharest since the Austrian army occupied it. Why did you not arrest *him?*"

[The Auditor did not favour me with a reply to that counter-question of mine, but blushed, coughed, and began to question me about other subjects.]

Auditor. "What did you observe in the Crimea?"—*I.* "That besides the English and French, the Piedmontese troops fought with intrepidity and valour, of which I was myself an eye-witness at the battle of the Tchernaja."

Auditor. "In your intercourse with officers, you frequently talked politics, of course. What opinions did you hear expressed with regard to the much-talked-about Panslavism, which encompasseth Europe like a horse-shoe?"—*I.* "Every statesman and politician expounds and applies this question according to his particular views and inclinations; but time only can conclusively prove the correctness or fallacy of their reasonings and assertions."

Auditor. "And what does Russia think of Austrian policy; for some efficacious assistance from us must have been necessarily expected?"—*I.* "The occupation of the Danubian principalities by an Austrian army was considered to be a great service rendered to Russia. But it cannot surely be expected that I could be acquainted with Russian views and opinions upon Austrian policy. Besides, never being over fond of political argument, I seldom took notice of particular opinions with regard to politics, except the one which could not possibly escape my observation, on account of its universality; namely, that Austrian vague and undefined policy exposed her to suspicion, and would, on that account, neither secure to her sincere friends, nor conciliate her enemies."

Auditor. "What do you think of the Turkish troops?"—*I.* "They may be reckoned among the best, and might be made excellent, if some alterations were made in their organization."

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Auditor. "What struck your attention most during your travels in Bosnia, Bulgaria, and Wallachia?"—*I.* "The intense hatred towards the Austrians, particularly in Wallachia."

[My last answer evidently vexed the Auditor.]

I was then questioned as to what took place at my arrest at Bucharest, the particulars of which I related exactly as I have stated them above.

After this I underwent a great many more examinations, which amounted altogether to twenty-seven during the period of my imprisonment, and at which all the above-indicated questions were turned and twisted, and put to me in all imaginable shapes and forms, with the view of eliciting from me something more satisfactory to my tormentors. But as I endeavoured never to vary in my answers, and took particular care not to compromise anybody, the Auditor, finding that he could not get anything else out of me, said at last: "As you obstinately persist in your determination not to name any one in the country with whom you were in culpable communication, do inform us, at least, of the committees abroad who are inimical to Austria."

My answer was, that I did not know them.

He then asked me whether I was a member of the "Recedere" society.

At my reply, that I was not even aware of the existence of such a society, he said: "But you are a Freemason; you visited the Freemasons' lodge at Malta."

I said to that, "that a Freemason knows him who is one."

It was therefore evident that the Austrians had spies everywhere. One thing only consoled me, namely, that they merely knew where some one was or where he went, but they seemed to be ignorant of what was going on there. They inquired of me whether Kossuth stood in friendly relations with Lord Palmerston, or with other influential men in England; of which I could not of course give them any information. They wanted to know whether Kossuth's sons were fine grown-up young lads, and how many stands of arms and ships he possessed.

Taking this last question for irony, I could not withstand the

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temptation to tell them in the same strain, "He may, perhaps, have several ships, and some 70,000 stands of arms, for aught I know."

At one of the last examinations the Auditor addressed me thus, with the blandest expression of his countenance he was capable of assuming:—"You see, Herr Lieutenant, that the English government has entirely forsaken you; therefore you cannot do better than to write down a candid and sincere confession, without sparing either yourself or anybody else: that confession will remain secret, and will only be known to yourself, me, and a person of high standing at Vienna. Believe me, that such confessions have saved the lives of many, and that your own may greatly mitigate your sentence. I certainly cannot promise you anything positive in this respect, but if you follow my advice, I, who am specially appointed and sent to conduct the proceedings against you, will make my report in favour of you, and recommend you to most gracious clemency. Your case will then be laid before his most gracious Majesty the Emperor, whom your candid confession and true repentance may incline to leniency."

To that I replied: "I told everything that I knew and about which I was questioned." But the Auditor did not seem to notice my answer, for he laid before me a sheet of paper, on which were written, among other questions of no importance, which have slipped my memory, the following two principal ones; namely, one concerning the Central European Committee of Conspiration at London, and the other concerning the names of those Austrian officers and non-commissioned officers with whom a correspondence inciting to and promoting conspiracy was carried on.

To the first question I answered: "That a central European revolutionary committee existed in London, was known all over the world, and its members do not hesitate in the least to sign their names on all their manifestoes; but with whom they stood in communication, and where they have their sub-committees, is a secret known only to those gentlemen themselves."

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With regard to the second, I said, "That I have at least ten times repeated it, that I was not connected with anybody in the Austrian army for the purpose of inciting to or promoting conspiracy. For what necessity was there for conspiring? Was there any conspiracy amongst us before 1848? and yet whole regiments, companies, and troops, came to Hungary; and no power in the world, much less that of Austria, could prevent them doing it. Italians went over to the Hungarians, and Hungarians to the Italians, and would do so again, whenever it was necessary; for those who are penetrated thoroughly with the sense of their duty will, at the call of their country, always fly to their national banner."

Having read my answers, the Auditor said: "If you have nothing else to say than that, we must consider you to be still a conspirator, and the depositions of Calvi as correct, particularly as he did not retract them at his death."

To that I replied: "I can die too, without being able to say anything else."

Thus concluded at last, on the 22nd day of December, the wearing and unnecessarily protracted examinations.

The 24th of that month being Christmas eve, devoted in Hungary, as in many other countries, to family meetings and rejoicings, a person, entirely unknown to me at that time, but whose kindness I appreciate still more highly, since it proceeded from a source whence a display of quite a contrary feeling might have been sooner expected, sent into my mournful abode a supper consisting of dainties and dishes invariably served on that day on the Hungarian festive boards. But, in her compassionate eagerness to afford me, as she probably imagined, some comfort, she forgot that, with the very peculiarity of the dish, the idea in whose company it is usually partaken was inseparably connected. And, indeed, the mere sight of these dishes, which for fourteen long years I had neither seen nor tasted, brought to my mind so vividly my dearly-beloved sisters and friends, and their anguish at my absence and probable melancholy fate, that, overwhelmed by mental agony, I stood there staring at the out-spread repast

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motionless and pale. The two soldiers on watch were, as they afterwards told me, rather alarmed at my almost ghastly torpidity, and one of them addressed me in Polish:—"Sir, do not be so desponding; remember the old cheering saying, 'that after a storm comes a calm.' Surely they cannot think of putting to death a kind gentleman like you."

This last observation roused me from my stupor, and I said to him: "Do you suppose that the fear of death, which, prompted by duty, I have so frequently faced, does affect me?—No, my lads; it was merely the thought of those whom I dearly love, and who at this very hour may be bewailing in anguish and sorrow my mournful lot, that just now overcame me."

The soldiers thrust down their czakoes, and I overheard one whisper in Polish: "Szkoda takiego pana" (What a pity for such a gentleman).

The Christmas holidays being over, my irons were again taken off on the 29th of December, and I was ushered into the hall under the usual escort. I found there the board of examination turned into a full court-martial, by the members of the former being doubled, from the rank of captain downwards; so that it consisted of thirteen members, the Auditor, who does not vote, not included.

On the table, between two burning tapers, stood a crucifix. The members of the court being sworn in, the Auditor asked me whether I had any objection to make against any one of the members of the court; to which I merely replied, "No." After which the members of the court took their seats, and I seated myself on the stool which I had occupied twenty-seven times before. The act of accusation, as well as my depositions, were then read over; but as they filled not less than ninety-eight sheets of paper, their reading occupied the Auditor fully five hours. He then said: "You will yourself, no doubt, now see that you, being a commissioned officer, committed a crime by deserting the army, by serving in revolutionary armies in the rank of colonel, and by incessantly conspiring. Have you anything to communicate to the court?"

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I replied: "I merely protest once more, that my arrest was contrary to law."

"This is already recorded," answered the Auditor. "Do you not wish to apply for mercy?"

"No," I said; "because I know that you will sentence me to death notwithstanding."

This vexed the Auditor, and he said: "You are too haughty by far." He then handed me over a pen, and bid me sign my depositions; which being done, I was taken back to prison.

The court-martial passed then, most probably, their verdict and sentence, which, according to Austrian custom, is sent to Vienna to be ratified by the Emperor, without its purport being ever communicated to the accused until that ratification arrives.

Whether proceedings, where the accused has no other opportunity of refuting the charges brought against him than the one afforded to him in his answers, necessarily limited by the manner in which the prosecutor thinks proper to shape his questions;—whether proceedings, where the accused is desired to sue for mercy before ever his sentence is passed, and by this very act admit his guilt and prejudice his case;—whether such proceedings can possibly be called trials, or not, I must of course leave to the decision of those who are better acquainted with law than I pretend to be, and will merely direct the attention of the reader to the incontestable fact, that it is by such proceedings that the Austrian courts-martial have sent, and are daily sending, within, and even without, the dominions of Austria, thousands of victims to perish by the rope, the bullet, or in pestilential dungeons.

Acquainted thus with the severity and want of fairness of the Austrian martial code, I had no very great difficulty in determining the probable award of my sentence; and though there may be people, who, having had the good fortune to escape the execution of their death-warrants, pretend that it made no particular impression upon them, and boast of having awaited

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their fate with stoical indifference, I must own that death by an executioner's hand had always with me something so execrable about it, that the merit of political martyrdom did not mitigate that painful impression of mine. And though I succeeded in retaining throughout, outwardly, a becoming composure, I could not help awaiting with intense inward anguish the final decision of my fate; and the days which elapsed before that decision was made known to me constitute decidedly the most distressing period of my life.

The provost, who must have discovered, by some means or other, the agony of my mind, endeavoured to persuade me that I was not sentenced to death, but merely to a few years' imprisonment in a fortress; but I knew too well that, in cases like mine, no lenity could be expected from Austria; I said, therefore, to the provost, "Believe me, that the day on which the ratification of my sentence shall be made known to me, shall be the last day of my earthly life." The provost must have perceived that this was my earnest determination, for he besought me, for God's sake, not to attempt self-destruction. To which I replied, "Do not be afraid of that; I will previously know my fate."

Want of air, with which they supplied me so sparingly; want of rest, continually disturbed, partly by my chains twisting around my body, and thus increasing the discomfort of my musty straw bed, never changed but twice during the whole period of my imprisonment, and not until the increase of vermin made it indispensable,—partly by the relief of my watch and the almost incessant roaring out of the sentry at my window, "Stop, who is there?" brought about illness at last, which, by exciting my nerves, increased the gloom and anxiety of my mind. And as if the above-mentioned cause were not enough to make me thoroughly miserable, the band of the regiment met every day, from 2 till 3 o'clock P.M., for the purpose of practising, in a room over my head, a mournful dead-march, which very naturally appeared to me of very ominous portent; so much so, that I could not help inquiring of the provost whether it

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was not purposely done. The provost, however, undeceived me, by telling me that two soldiers being dead, who had made the last campaign, and were on that account entitled to a funeral with music, the band were for that purpose rehearsing the dead-march in question; but, to crown all, the barbarous bastinado was every Saturday inflicted under my very window.

Having been unaccustomed to this loathsome sight ever since I left the Austrian service, the cries and groans of the sufferers went to my very heart. The provost, in order to soften in some way my irritation, to which I could not help giving vent, told me that the highest bastinado punishment allowed to be inflicted was now reduced from one hundred to seventy blows. What clemency! what considerable reduction!! Austria, who, during the three hundred years that standing armies have been established, has awarded many millions of blows, is now come to the magnanimous resolve to reduce, by thirty per cent., the number of blows allowed to be administered to a poor fellow-man's back. Well, to be sure, if they go on at this rate, the entire abolition of flogging in the Austrian army may be expected at about the middle of the next millennium, provided the people will have patience enough to wait so long (???).

One morning, about the end of January, my irons were again taken off. "Well, my fate will at last be decided," I thought. But I was mistaken; for some officers only came and made official inquiries about some Hungarians, of whom I knew only one, and who, to my great satisfaction, was safe in America. "Oh dear," thought I, "when shall I be relieved of that dreadful suspense?"

I met with a similar disappointment on the 9th of February, when, being brought before the Board, the Auditor told me that the British Embassy having applied to the Austrian Council of Ministers and communicated to them a letter addressed to me, the Council had forwarded that letter to the Military Commission. I was all attention when an officer read to me the letter; but I was sadly disappointed when I found that this was merely a letter from Mr. Calvert, the agent of the British Land-Trans-

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port Corps, who required of me some explanations, in order to be able to arrange the accounts and affairs of the corps, which, through the death of his predecessor, Mr. Banfield, had got into considerable confusion, which might have been easily prevented had they allowed me to commuincate with some one of the British Consulate-General when I was under arrest at Bucharest.

The Auditor then handed over to me the letter, and ordered the provost to supply me with the necessary writing materials, and to be present when I was writing the answer. I was then again brought before the Board on the next morning, and my answer having been carefully examined, the Auditor told me, that, according to information received, my luggage had safely arrived at Bucharest, and that he would write to have it forwarded to Cronstadt. These words of the Auditor, connected with the contents of Mr. Calvert's letter, struck down the last prop of my hope; for I thought in my mind, that had the English government seen the least chance of getting me out of the clutches of Austria, they would have waited until I was free before demanding of me the required information.

Nearly two weeks had again elapsed in agonizing suspense, when, on the 22nd of February, the provost entered my prison, took my irons off, and told me that another military commission required again some information of me. But on entering the hall, I immediately saw that my sentence was to be read; for besides the members of the court-martial, I saw assembled there the whole corps of officers. I advanced towards the President, at the side of whom stood the colonel of the regiment, with a drawn sword in his hands. The Auditor then said to me, "Your sentence is arrived;" and began immediately to read it as follows:—

"Stephen Türr, born at Baja, in the county of Bäts, thirty-three years of age, a lieutenant, left on the 19th day of January, 1849, the Imperial and Royal Austrian army, went over to the enemy, and then and there entered the service of the same; and having been since then one of those who most

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zealously assisted a subversive faction to bring about a violent severance of Italy and Hungary from the commonweal of the Austrian monarchy, hath thereby rendered himself guilty of the crime of high treason: in consequence of which, all his property shall be confiscated for the benefit of the State, and he condemned to death by the rope." [The Auditor pronounced these last words with a solemn and mournful emphasis, and made rather a long pause, evidently for the purpose of observing the impression which the sentence had made upon me. He then began to read again.] "His Majesty the Emperor hath, however, been induced by peculiar considerations to commute most graciously the sentence of death [Oh, woe me! imprisonment for life] into one of perpetual banishment from all the provinces of the Austrian monarchy. And should ever the condemned dare to show himself in any of the provinces of the Austrian monarchy, the death-warrant passed upon him shall forthwith be executed."

"God be praised, it is then over at last," thought I; "never fear that I shall ever enter his Imperial Majesty of Hapsburg's dominions, unless with sword in hand; and then it might be rather questionable whether you, gentlemen, would have the power to execute the sentence passed upon me,—'*Prudens futuri temporis exitum, calliginosâ nocte premit Deus.*'"

The reading of the sentence being concluded, the Auditor said to me, "You shall now be given into the custody of the police-commissary Süssemann, who is to accompany you to the frontier."

Taken back to the prison, irons were not put on again, but the two soldiers on watch still remained. The commissary of the police followed me into the prison, and told me that we were to start next morning very early. Later in the day, the Auditor and the director of the police came to see me, and I was informed that sufficient money* for my travelling expenses

* That they confiscated all my property is, on account of the prevailing custom in such cases, not surprising; but to take away even the twenty-six ducats which I had about me when taken, appears to me rather mean.

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would be advanced out of my property, the commissary paying what he should consider requisite.

"And now," said the Auditor to me, in a friendly manner, "since you have seen the dangers of the course you have hitherto pursued, you will, I hope, leave off conspiring for the future."

"We shall see," said I.

"O, but you must, indeed," insisted he.

"Well, I can never promise what you demand," I replied, "for I shall always be ready to sacrifice my life for my country."

Presently he took leave of me, by saying, "I hope we shall never meet again."

"You may depend upon it," I replied, "that I am by no means anxious to renew our acquaintance."

I am, however, pleased to be able to say that most of the officers of the garrison were highly gratified at my liberation, and every one whom I happened to see expressed warmly his satisfaction at the result of my affair.

When it is considered that the majority of Austrian officers cannot but be ashamed of the so frequently-repeated acts of revolting atrocity laid to the charge of a government of whom discipline makes them the pliant tools, it cannot be wondered at that acts of mercy are become for them a necessity, for they are the only means by which they endeavour to quiet their consciences, and mock themselves into the sweet belief that their rulers are not, after all, such bloodthirsty cowards as the world takes them for. My case, moreover, must have gratified them still more, by reason that, knowing, as they did, how my imprisonment on a neutral territory had been severely censured all over the civilized world, my release afforded them an opportunity to soften down, by extolling this act of seeming clemency, the unfavourable impression produced by the flagrant violation of international law.

One of the members of the court-martial called upon me before I left Cronstadt. "I recollect the day," he said, "when you were brought here. I saw two carriages, each drawn by eight horses, and I fancied that there was some prince or nabob

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coming. I followed the carriage to the barracks, and there I saw you in irons, surrounded by your escort. Your sunburnt countenance, your proud cold look, which you scarcely deigned to bestow upon us, made me, as well as others, rather ashamed of our curiosity. The next time I saw you, I admired your calm and dignified bearing during the examinations and trial, and still more did I admire and respect your contempt of death, whilst you refused to ask for mercy. But, dear friend, we could not do otherwise than sentence you to death; for you know, as well as I do, that our military laws allow but very few mitigations; and you must yourself own, that from circumstances stated, and not refuted, we could find no other verdict than the one we came to. I must own that, at that time, I did not believe in the possibility of your escaping your sad fate; and depend upon it, that it is only to the intervention of the two Western powers that you owe your life."

"Oh!" said I, amused by his unaffected admission, "I know very well that the Emperor of Austria would never have pardoned me of his own accord; for was not poor Calvi executed, though both his father and two brothers were faithful servants of the Emperor? No, Austria knows no mercy except when it is compelled to show it."

The day before I left I was allowed to dine in the apartments and with the family of the provost. His wife and two daughters, never having seen me before, were, it appeared to me, very anxious to see how a conspirator and exile looks. They however all seemed to be truly glad at my liberation, and madame, who had had a good boarder in me, now regaled me with an excellent farewell dinner. I like to believe in disinterested sympathies, and am therefore thankful to that brave woman and her daughters for the interest they appeared to feel in my fate.

And so came on the last night I had to pass in my prison on the straw couch, without being disturbed by horrible dreams; for to sleep as I did for several weeks with an imaginary rope round my neck, was indeed no pleasant sensation. The two soldiers of my watch must have been influenced by the change in my coun-

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tenance, for they too looked more cheerful, and would not have refused to join in a little chat; and I would not have denied them that satisfaction, had not my thoughts been absorbed by more serious and solemn subjects. I thought of the merciful Providence who sustained me amidst such imminent dangers, and spared my life, that I might be able still to serve my dear oppressed country. God be thanked for it. And the inappreciable boon of liberty so miraculously bestowed upon me shall be for me a hint and a bidding from Heaven to devote now more than ever all my energies to the cause of justice and freedom.

I awoke about three o'clock in the morning, and knowing that we were to start early, I could not fall asleep again, though I had nothing to pack. A little before four o'clock came the commissary of police, Mr. Süssemann. He was very friendly, and informed me that everything was ready for our journey. I took leave of the brave old provost, and as I crossed the court-yard, I saw there assembled all the soldiers who had been keeping watch over me in turn. They all wished me a pleasant journey and every prosperity. We took our seats, together with two policemen, intended, no doubt, to prevent my running back to the pleasant quarters I had just left; at least I could imagine no other reason for their accompanying us. There is such a thing as a superfluous precaution, and the one taken against me was undoubtedly of that kind; for who could ever imagine, but one haunted by imaginary terrors, that, after what had happened, I could ever wish to protract my stay amongst my friends the Austrians any longer than I could help?

I thought at first that they intended taking me to the frontiers of Wallachia, but I soon perceived that we were on the road to Hermanstadt, which town we actually reached after a journey of twenty-four hours, amidst a terrible snow-storm and in bitterly cold weather. Here, as well as in all the towns where we stopped, I was lodged in prisons, inns being only allowed in places where there were no jails.

From Hermanstadt we went to Mühlbach; but as I do not intend writing a winter tour in Transylvania, I will merely

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mention some of the places we passed in which I saw something worth notice. Generally speaking, I found the people everywhere imbued with intense hatred against the government under which they groan. The jealousies of the various races, designedly fanned and made use of by the government during the years 1848-49, have now merged into a common feeling of indignation against their faithless rulers; and Saxons, Wallachians, Magyars, Germans, Servians, and Croats, are now all unanimous in deploring the errors of the past, and in longing for the coming day of universal emancipation.

The inhabitants of Mühlbach still hold in grateful remembrance the name of Bem, who, though many wounded and sick soldiers of his were murdered there, did not, as is but too usual in time of war, take revenge on the whole population, but, on the contrary, spared the town.

At Fáeset I witnessed a modern Austrian manner of administering justice. The chief judge of the district hears the cases there whilst partaking his dinner. Having dispatched in all haste, but with what satisfaction to the claims of justice I cannot of course presume to decide, as many cases as the duration of the repast admits, the judge discharges, at his rising from the dinner-table, the unheard litigants with, "I have no time now to attend to you;" and off he starts to another locality, to perform there again, at one and the same time, his alimentary and judicial functions. What an astounding example of zeal and industry of the Austrian judges. The only drawback of it may be, perhaps, the circumstance that the number of decisions seems to depend so much on the number of dishes.

Since the restriction of the liberty of hunting and the seizure of all arms in Hungary, wild beasts have so multiplied, that, besides an enormous damage done to the crops, the flocks, and the poultry, the wolves venture, not only into villages, but into the very towns, and besides doing fearful depredations, attack even people. The number of "Kreisjäger" (district huntsmen appointed by the government) is not sufficient to destroy them; and in consequence of the universal dislike to public functionaries,

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increased still more by the circumstance that they are not Hungarians, the landed proprietors do not allow them to hunt on their grounds. One of these huntsmen told me that a nobleman, being requested to allow him to kill some wolves which were in his forest, refused by saying, "No, sir! the wolves beloug to me, not to the government."

At Magyar Becse, a peasant being requested by the commissary to tell the government functionary that horses were wanted, the peasant answered him with the greatest contempt, "I am not the servant of the Kaiser" (emperor), and walked away.

At Neusatz we went on board a steamer. The news of my passing through that town having by some means or other preceded me, great numbers of people collected on the banks of the river, and even on board the steamer, to welcome me; and the display of joy and sympathy towards me made poor Süssemann rather uncomfortable. He wished me to take a cabin, but I declined, and walked direct into the saloon, to the evident annoyance of the worthy commissary, who was quite shocked at such disloyal demonstration of sympathy shown on all sides to a man so disgracefully condemned by the government as I was. This was my own native country—the county of Bäts,—and we glided along its shores. The Austrians call it now *Voivodina*, and will have it that it is *Servian*, though, in spite of their endeavours to denationalize it, it is, and will for ever remain, Magyar. When we disembarked at Vukovar, the frontier town of that county, I could not help bidding it farewell by exclaiming, "Isten örköd hazam felett sadi erös szegény néppének!" (May God protect thee, my own dear country, and may He give power and strength to thy unfortunate sons).

From Vukovar to Vinkovcze, on the military frontier, we went pretty briskly; but thence we had to wait for horses a long time everywhere. Poor Süssemann's protestations that he was travelling by order of the emperor, his threats, and even abuse, were of no avail, and called forth only the cool reply: "We are here on the frontier."

At Agram I met with another demonstration of sympathy.

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Many young Croats came to see me, and to shake hands with me. Süssemann looked daggers at them, but could neither help nor prevent it.

However incompetent the world may consider me to be to give an impartial opinion of Austria's condition, her ways and policy, this I conscientiously assert, that the above-mentioned statements are positive undeniable facts, and merely taken as such, demonstrate sufficiently that discontent, and intense hate and contempt of the government and its system, pervade all the strata of Austrian society, with the exception of public functionaries; that that system is much more demoralizing and much more threatening to the peace of Europe than all the ranting of pretended republicans. How, therefore, with such a condition of society, with the incessantly manifested bad faith and treachery on the part of the Austrian government, the civilized world can endure the existence of Austria, is a mystery which can only be explained by the supposition that the present rulers prefer the worst state of things to allowing the people that share in the management of their affairs which is unquestionably their due.

At last, after a journey of eighteen days, we arrived in Trieste, where I was given over to the director of the local police, who again intrusted me to the safe-keeping of my next and last conductor. I went to his house, instead of to a prison, after I had taken leave of poor Mr. Süssemann, who, I must own, behaved to me most politely; but who must have been very glad of having at last accomplished his mission, which could not have been over and above pleasant, partly on account of the demonstrations of sympathy displayed towards me, and partly by the unconcealed contempt with which he was treated everywhere. I had to give my word of honour not to leave the room before our departure, which took place next day, in one of Lloyd's steamers. On our arrival at Corfu, my keeper changed his police livery for a diplomatic uniform, and took me to the Lord Governor of the island, to whom he also had a letter from the British embassy at Vienna. The letter, if it was an introductory one, failed to secure to him a courteous reception; for

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whilst his lordship received me with the words, "I am very glad to make your acquaintance, colonel, and to congratulate you upon your fortunate escape," he treated the man of the police rather cavalierly.

From Corfu I addressed a letter to her Majesty the Queen, and to Lord Palmerston. The following is a copy of the first:—

"MADAM,—

"To the mighty intervention of your Majesty do I owe my liberty—nay, my life. The only wish which I have now is that your Majesty would graciously please to allow me to give proof on the field of battle, in your Majesty's service, of those sentiments of respect and gratitude with which I am

Your Majesty's

Most devoted and faithful Servant,

STEPHEN TÜRR.

The Lord Governor sent me to General MacIntosh, commanding general officer at Corfu, who directed me to go to Constantinople. Thence I hastened to Rustschuk, in order to afford to Mr. Calvert every help and assistance in my power to settle the affairs of the Land-Transport Corps. Hardly arrived there, when the Austrians again protested against my presence in that town, to which no stretch of law could give them any power or authority, since by my sentence, signed by the Emperor himself, only my presence in all the provinces of the Austrian empire was forbidden; and surely Rustschuk has not the good fortune, as yet, to be under the mild and paternal government of Austria.

I was gratified, on arriving at Rustschuk, by the intelligence that, notwithstanding the disorder and confusion into which the affairs and accounts of the Land-Transport Corps were thrown through my arrest and the cupidity of the agents and contractors,

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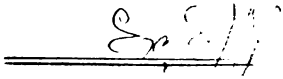
who speculated upon my death, Mr. Calvert, by a display of extraordinary vigilance and activity, was enabled to arrange them satisfactorily. He likewise convinced himself, that during the whole period of my administration, I faithfully performed the duty intrusted to me; in proof of which I was favoured with the following testimony:—

"This is to certify, that Colonel Etienne Türr was employed as an agent of the Land-Transport Corps in Bulgaria, for the purchase of horses and waggons and the engagement and organization of 200 drivers for the British army in the Crimea, and that while so employed he was arrested and carried off by the Austrian authorities at Bucharest; and further, that, having caused the accounts of Colonel Türr's agency to be closed and reported upon, I am perfectly satisfied with their state, as far as that gentleman is concerned.

"M. M'MURDO,
"*Colonel and Director-General.*

"LONDON, *August 25th,* 1856."



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ONE SHILLING.

NARRATIVE

OF THE

ARREST, TRIAL, & CONDEMNATION

OF

COLONEL TÜRR.

SHOWING

HOW AUSTRIA RESPECTS INTERNATIONAL LAW.

BY

COLONEL TÜRR.

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